Politics of citizenship

Author-Deepta Chopra

Abstract

This introduction discusses the articles in this Special Issue, which are all focused on exploring the everyday interactions between marginalised individuals and groups and the state in contemporary India. In particular the articles highlight the experiences of a diverse set of marginalised groups – Muslim artisans and weavers, Dalits, Tibetan exiles and post-conflict victims in Gujarat – in order to work towards an understanding of the politics of citizenship from the margins. Across these articles two interlocking themes emerge. Firstly, how different marginalised groups have experienced, critiqued and engaged with different aspects of the `welfare state'. Secondly, the way in which agencies were articulated from the margins through these processes of engagement, shaping and recasting interactions between the state and society in India. We argue that the deployment of different strategies of engagement with the state by India's marginalised can be viewed as a politics of citizenship, through which marginalised people (re)make themselves as citizens. This essay is thus a call for future research on citizenship as a lived experience which is operationalised in local practices and quotidian interactions between the state and society.

A state within a state

Author- Fiona McConnell

Abstract

Exiled Tibetans in India are an unusual marginalised community. With their own government structure operating within the sovereign state of India, albeit without legal recognition, they are both de facto refugees from the perspective of the Indian state and Tibetan 'citizens' in the eyes of the Tibetan government-in-exile (TGiE). Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper examines the complex, dynamic and at times contradictory three-way relationship between this population and the two 'governments' which strive to identify, document and rehabilitate them. After sketching out the context of relations between India and (exile) Tibet, these interactions are explored through two key sets of state-population relations: the identification of individuals as citizens and refugees, and the provision of welfare. Interweaving 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' perspectives on such state–citizen and state–state relations, this paper juxtaposes the rhetoric of both 'governments' with Tibetan citizens' micro-political interactions with these state structures and foregrounds the importance of scale for analyses of the state.

Becoming Urban: Periurban Dynamics in Vietnam and China

Author- **Friedmann, John**

Abstract

The new urbanization in Vietnam and China, a result of the opening of their economies to the world, the consequent relaxation of central planning, and the sweeping reforms that have had a transforming effect on these countries, has focused attention on the encounters of an ever-expanding urban with the densely populated rural zones—the periurban—that surround large cities in the region. The effects of horizontal expansion on property rights, land use, occupations, social interaction and the physical environment have been ongoing for between 20 and 30 years and have been profound. Some of them are the object of the four case studies that provide the empirical substance of this special issue.
The research reported here was not part of a larger project. It brings together four studies that happened to address interesting aspects of the encounter between urban and rural in two neighbouring countries with socialist regimes that are on the same development trajectory. We do not claim to make vast generalizations, but note the specificities of each case as worthwhile in their own right.

Periurban Asia

Author- **Leaf, Michael**

Abstract

This commentary on the papers collected in this special issue identifies certain recurring themes from the papers and examines these in light of the urban transitions now being experienced by Vietnam and China, as elsewhere in Asia. These include: tensions in state-society relations as expressed in processes of periurbanization; the effects of the expansion of market relations in land and urban development; the persistence of the discursive categories traditional and modern in the analysis of periurbanization; and a consideration of what the periurban might imply vis-à-vis conventional notions of urban and rural, now and into the future. This discussion of recurring themes from the papers is prefaced by some reflections on how our choices of terminology may influence our theoretical understanding of a situation, event or condition. The specific question here is what is the difference between periurbanization and suburbanization, and it is argued that the distinction between the two may derive more from who is using the terms and the contexts within which they are situated than from specific denotative meanings of the words.

Every Kingdom Divided Against Itself Will Be Ruined

Author- M. L. R. Smith

Abstract

Much analytical commentary implies that a generic West is the principal target of *jihadist* activism. This study contends that this is a misconception fostered by *jihadist* groups like Al Qaeda in order to accentuate their stature in the Islamic world and to obscure their true aims, which are first and foremost to secure the dominance of the Salafist interpretation of Islam. The analysis situates Al Qaeda in the tradition of Islamic reform movements and shows that a violent Sufi/Salafist conflict pervades nearly all current examples of strife within the Muslim world. In these conflicts, the role of the "West" is instrumental, not central to the struggle. Consequently, this study offers a qualification to notions of a "global *jihad*" and suggests this has important considerations for policymakers in determining the nature of the threat posed by Islamist militancy.

Why Do Terrorists Stop? Analyzing Why ETA Members Abandon or Continue with Terrorism

Author- Rogelio Alonso

Abstract

This article analyzes the factors that have motivated members of Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) to abandon terrorism and the factors that have motivated other members of the terrorist organization to maintain their activism. The article examines the process of disengagement of an important faction of ETA and that of other terrorists throughout the group's protracted campaign in order to explain the reasons behind the decision to give up violence. The article concludes with an analysis of the variables that should be considered in order to encourage the collective disengagement of the group that has become the most enduring terrorist organization in Europe.

Christian Corpses for Christians

Author-Natalia Aleksiun

Abstract

In this article, the author analyzes the campaign that captured the attention of medical colleges at Polish Universities in Warsaw, Vilno, Cracow, and Lvov during the 1920s and

1930s. The author discusses calls made by right-wing students for a regular supply of Jewish corpses matching their percentage among the students, and the ways in which university authorities and Polish Jewish communal leaders responded to these demands. Clearly, driving Jews out of the medical profession combined traditional prejudicial thinking about Jews with modern racial science and corresponded with the more general call to remove Jews from free professions. However, the issue of Jewish corpses took this line of thinking into the realm of pathology. The author argues that taking issue with Jewish access to "Christian corpses" echoed perceptions of Jewish impurity. It implied that Jewish students constituted a danger not only to their Polish colleagues but even to the corpses of Christians, which they could somehow contaminate or violate.

Discourse of Treason in Occupied Poland

Author- Agnieszka Haska

Abstract

During the Second World War, Polish underground organizations created a catalogue of behaviors that qualified as treason against the Polish nation. The rules covered everyday behaviors as well as boycotts of the press, cinema, theater, and the German language. These guidelines—appearing in both codified form and as articles and judgments printed in the underground press—constituted the discourse on treason in occupied Poland. The article presents this discourse, describing its main problems and modifications during the occupation period in an attempt to encompass all spheres of social, cultural, and economic life.

From emigrant Spain to immigrant Spain

Author–Felipe Arocena

Abstract

Spain is undergoing a process of intense demographic change towards a more diverse society brought about by massive immigration over the last decade that includes a high proportion of Latin Americans. Pejoratively dubbed 'sudacas', they are moving in the opposite direction to the Spanish who went to Latin America 100 years ago. Multicultural Spain has two main facets: the historical regional minorities in Catalonia, Galicia and the

Basque Country, elements of which have waged struggles for national autonomy; and the recent immigrant minorities, notably the Latin Americans, North Africans and Romanians.

UK: racial violence and the night-time economy

Author– Jon Burnett

Abstract

This article examines the prevalence of racial violence in the UK's night-time economy. Fifty–five racial attacks are documented over a six–month period, showing the risks faced by members of the public and workers at taxi firms, takeaways, convenience stores and service stations. It argues that flexible and highly casualised labour conditions, combined with increasing numbers of immigration raids, exacerbate the risk of racial violence.

Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research

Author- Joseph K. Young

Abstract

Using a database of recent articles published in prominent political science journals, we show the rapid increase in terrorism research. Given this increased awareness and attention, we identify several problems that still plague the study of political terrorism including definitional problems that lack empirical tests, not distinguishing among different types of terrorism, and using the wrong unit of analysis when designing research. After identifying these problems—especially as they relate to the quantitative study of terrorism—we suggest some solutions. We then apply these suggestions to investigate whether changing the definition of terrorism, different types of terrorism, or changing the unit of analysis affects key predictors of terror events cross-nationally. One of our tests consists of varying the unit of observation to include directed dyads, which offers the potential to test some of the many strategic models of terrorism.

Interactions in Transition

Author- Alexander Dukalskis

Abstract

While there have been recent advances in theories of transitional justice, there remains a lack of theory about how truth commissions and human rights trials interact with each other to facilitate or

constrain efforts at transitional justice. This is an important deficiency to remedy because numerous countries long ago leapt ahead of transitional justice theory by sequencing trials and truth commissions, while the International Criminal Court (ICC) will have to manage relationships with truth commissions as its work accelerates. The aim of this article is to use current literatures on transitional justice and political transitions to build a theory of how trials and truth commissions interact with each other.

International Relations of the Asia- Pacific

Volume11, Issue 3, 2011

International relations studies in China

Author- David Shambaugh

Abstract

International relations (IR) studies in China have developed considerably over the past three decades. The field is now well established with 49 degree-granting institutions, as well as a series of 'think tanks' that produce policy-related analyses of international issues. Recent survey research of publication trends in the field reveals a significant new diversity of research subject areas, with an increased emphasis on topics associated with Western 'liberal' IR theory and international political economy, while at the same time revealing a tenacity of 'realist' topics such as major power relations. While the quantitative dimensions of the field have grown dramatically – institutions, faculty, publications – the overall quality of research remains very uneven across China and generally weak when compared internationally. This article surveys the historical development of the field, summarizes the current state of the field, and identifies challenges and opportunities for future development.

Institutions and the great power bargain in East Asia

Author- Evelyn Goh

Abstract

This article argues that in the post-Cold War strategic transition in East Asia, ASEAN has helped to create a minimalist normative bargain among the great powers in the region. The regional norms propagated through the 'ASEAN way', emphasizing sovereignty, non-intervention, consensus, inclusion, and informality were extremely important in the initial stages of bringing the great powers – especially China and the United States – to the table in the immediate post-Cold War period. During this time, ASEAN helped to institutionalize power relations legitimizing the role of the great powers as well as the 'voice' of smaller states in regional security management. But the process of institutionalizing great power relations contains further steps, and what ASEAN has achieved is well short of the kind of sustained cooperation on the part of the great powers that is so necessary to the creation of a new stable regional society of states. Moreover, ASEAN has provided the great powers with a minimalist normative position from which to resist the more difficult processes of negotiating common understanding on key strategic norms. At the same time, ASEAN's model of

'comfortable' regionalism allows the great powers to treat regional institutions as instruments of so-called 'soft' balancing, more than as sites for negotiating and institutionalizing regional 'rules of the game' that would contribute to a sustainable modus vivendi among the great powers.

Contemporary Security Policy

Volume 32, Issue 2, August 2011

Russia's Armed Forces and the Arctic
Author- Kristian Åtland

Abstract

In 2008, Russian leaders stated their intention to make the Arctic Russia's 'primary resource base'. This, and the region's growing importance as an arena for marine transportation and resource extraction, has led observers to question the longterm stability of the northern part of the globe and predict a new military buildup on the Kola Peninsula. Based on a review of Russia's previous behaviour in the Arctic, recent strategies and doctrines, the pattern of civil-military relations, and trends in the development of Russia's military forces in the region, this article argues that the role of the region in contemporary Russian security policy and defence planning should not be exaggerated. This analysis concludes that the character of Russian Arctic policy will largely depend on relations with NATO and the policies adopted by other Arctic rim states.

The Promises of Prague versus Nuclear Realities: From Bush to Obama

Author- Aiden Warren

Abstract

Contrasting the nuclear guidance documents and public statements of the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations reveals significant differences in American nuclear policy, but also surprising continuities. Bush's aim was never disarmament, but rather extending the life and potential role of American nuclear weaponry. An evaluation of the guidance documents that developed this approach, and major development programmes like the Reliable Replacement Warhead, shows that the Bush strategy was an attempted quiet revolution that foreshadowed a new nuclear era in which the former 'weapon of last resort' became a usable and necessary war-fighting device.

Slipping Tectonic Plates in U.S.–China Relations

Author-David M. Lampton

Abstract

Recent developments suggest two quasi-metaphors for what is going on in U.S.–China relations. The first is Bob Dylan's early April 2011 "gig" in China, where he received what was described as a rapturous welcome but was obliged to omit his signature song, "The Times They Are A-Changin." Everyone knows the times are changing, which is precisely why the song was not sung. The other metaphor, and the one I prefer, is geological—plate tectonics. Earthquakes of small magnitude represent smaller slippages along fault lines that gradually release energy and permit incremental adjustments on the surface. Larger slippages occur along fault lines in which there has not been a gradual release of energy through smaller movements. Those produce catastrophic readjustments on the surface.

Global Terrorism: The U.S. Challenge and Response

Abstract

The participants in this dynamic roundtable discussed a range of responses that the United States can make to counter the diverse challenges posed by the forces of terrorism.

Central Asia: Strategic Context Twenty Years after Independence

Abstract

An overarching analysis of the triangular relationship that has emerged in the region since independence and the foreign policy objectives that have motivated the United States, Russia, and China to engage in certain ways with one another in Central Asia.

Staying Power and the American Future

Author- Robert J. Lieber

Abstract

Many scholars, strategists and pundits contend that the US is in decline. They argue that America's national capabilities are significantly eroding, and that with the rise of important regional powers, its primacy in world affairs is rapidly diminishing as well. Yet America continues to possess significant advantages in critical sectors such as economic size, technology, competitiveness, demography, force size, power projection, military technology, and in the societal capacity to innovate and adapt. This article argues that the nature of material problems has been overstated, and that the US should be able to withstand modest erosion in its relative strength for some time to come without losing its predominant status. Instead, where limits to American primacy do exist, they are as or more likely to be ideational as they are material. The problem inheres as much or more in elite and societal beliefs, policy choices, and political will, as in economic, technological or manpower limitations at home, or the rise of peer competitors abroad.

Similar Strategies, Dissimilar Outcomes

Author- Damla Aras

Abstract

Several countries have used coercive diplomacy to dissuade sponsor-states from supporting non-state armed groups. This study argues that when a sponsor-state and a non-state armed group's common identity creates common aspirations and motives, coercive diplomacy towards the sponsor-state is unlikely to succeed in the long-term. To assess its efficacy, this research examines Turkey's strategy towards Syria in 1998 and in northern Iraq from 2007 onwards. Under the abovementioned conditions, it concludes that there has been no conclusive evidence for Turkey's assumption that its approach would succeed; therefore, it should utilise alternative strategies to coercive diplomacy.

International Studies in the Global Information Age

Author-Beth A. Simmons

Abstract

The Global Information Age poses new and interesting questions for the study of international affairs. This Presidential Address surveys recent developments in commercialized and globalized information technologies that have and will continue to impact political and social relationships around the world. These new technologies affect power relationships among states, as well between states and civil society. They also present possibilities for new forms of global accountability and participation in governance. Finally, a range of technologies offer new and powerful ways to collect

data for our research that allow us to ask new questions. President Simmons concludes as a result that exploratory empirical research is more enticing than ever before, but cautions that we should never think we can outsource the hard job of *thinking* to the very technologies that make innovative research possible in the first place.

The "Camp David Consensus"

Author- Ewan Stein

Abstract

This paper explores the nature, background, and evolution of the "Camp David consensus." Under this consensus, Egyptian intellectuals and political movements broadly accept that the Egyptian regime must deal constructively and "correctly" with Israel as a state, but insist that society has the right and responsibility to resist Zionism. The consensus rests on particular ways of understanding Israel, and the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict, that can be traced back to the formative years of the Egyptian republic under Nasser. This has served the interests of both regimes and opposition movements and in this sense represents a "double instrumentalization" of foreign policy. The paper, which examines a range of regime and intellectual pronouncements during the Nasser and Sadat periods, as well as more recently, challenges the growing use within International Relations, particularly in the Middle East context, of the concept of "identity" to explain state behavior.

Political Institutions and Street Protests in Latin America

Author-Fabiana Machado

Abstract

In this article, the authors argue that where institutions are strong, actors are more likely to participate in the political process through institutionalized arenas, while where they are weak, protests and other unconventional means of participation become more appealing. The authors explore this relationship empirically by combining country-level measures of institutional strength with individual-level information on protest participation in seventeen Latin American countries. The authors find evidence that weaker political

institutions are associated with a higher propensity to use alternative means for expressing preferences, that is, to protest.

Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia

Author– Abbey Steele
Abstract

This article highlights a nefarious effect of elections during civil wars by demonstrating that they can facilitate the displacement of civilians. In contrast to the perception of displacement as haphazard, the author argues that armed groups displace strategically when they attempt to gain control over a territory, and where they have information about civilians' loyalties. Although inferring preferences is difficult in the context of civil wars, elections conducted before or during a violent conflict are one way that armed groups can identify local cleavages and ''disloyal'' residents. The author tests implications of the argument with original, microlevel quantitative and qualitative data from northwest Colombia. Using voter files and disaggregated electoral returns, the author shows that residents in urban neighborhoods that supported the insurgent-backed political party, the Patriotic Union (UP), were more likely to leave the city of Apartadó than were neighbors in other districts.

Comparative Studies of Policy Dynamics
Author-Frank R. Baumgartner

Abstract

Major new understandings of policy change are emerging from a program to measure attention to policies across nations using the same instrument. Participants in this special issue have created new indicators of government activities in 11 countries over several decades. Each database is comprehensive in that it includes information about every activity of its type (e.g., laws, bills, parliamentary questions, prime ministerial speeches) for the time period covered, typically several decades. These databases are linked by a common policy topic classification system, which allows new types of analyses of public policy dynamics over time.

Comparing Government Agendas: Executive Speeches in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, and Denmark

Author- Peter Bjerre Mortensen

Abstract

At the beginning of each parliamentary session, almost all European governments give a speech in which they present the government's policy priorities and legislative agenda for the year ahead. Despite the body of literature on governments in European parliamentary democracies, systematic research on these executive policy agendas is surprisingly limited. In this article the authors study the executive policy agendas—measured through the policy content of annual government speeches—over the past 50 years in three Western European countries: the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Contrary to the expectations derived from the well-established "politics matters" approach, the analyses show that elections and change in partisan color have little effect on the executive issue agendas, except to a limited extent for the United Kingdom.

Peace through Transformation? Political Realism and the Progressivism of National Security

Author-Robert Schuett

Abstract

Transformationalist thinking is plentiful. The Iraq invasion is the latest example of its failure. Is international political reality destined to be the 'realm of recurrence and repetition'? This article delineates a political theory of moderate progress found in Hans Morgenthau's political realism (Realism). Realism recognises the potentiality of transforming international relations, but, warned by its political anthropology, it envisions a distinct philosophy of politics as an effective means for achieving peace. It makes the case for a foreign policy of national security and humility, believing in progress by other means. Based on a renewed engagement with its concepts of the state, national interest and national security, Realism is shown to be critical and progressivist, restrained and realistic. Its nature and structure makes it intellectually incompatible with conservative organicist projects; nor is it reconcilable with radical critical agendas. In search for allies, Realism shows a potential affinity to a moderately Leftist politics and foreign policy.

**Mapping the Competing Historical Analogies of the War on Terrorism
The Bush Presidency**

Author–Jan Angstrom

Abstract

This article maps the historical analogies of the war on terrorism used by the Bush administration. It identifies four historical analogies of the war on terrorism present in the US political and academic discourse since the attacks on 11 September 2001. These are the war on terrorism as: (a) the Second World War; (b) the Crusades; (c) the Vietnam War; and (d) the Cold War. These analogies have been a constant presence in the US discourse, although the analogy with the Crusades has been more prominent in the academic discourse than in the political. There is, moreover, no conclusive pattern of when and how these analogies have been used, suggesting that we cannot use them to evaluate how well the war on terrorism is progressing. This also indicates that the Bush administration, with one exception, was not successful in framing the policy agenda in a certain direction regarding the war on terrorism. Understanding the war on terrorism as a new Cold War, for example, still implies different policy measures such as roll–back and containment.